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ABSTRACT

This article discusses editorial "filters" in folktales, specifically the changes ("orientations") which editors deliberately impose on a tale because they want to reach a specific audience. A case in point is the tale called "Allerleirauh," in the Grimm collection, which not only is highly illustrative of editorial filters, but also contributes to a better understanding of the brothers Grimm and their methods of collecting tales. Focusing on three tales by that name (from 1810, 1812, and 1857), the article discusses: (1) the genesis of each, with a summary; (2) changes at the linguistic level; (3) content differences, including differences in presentation and in theme; (4) formative elements in the tales and filters in the recording; (5) changes in the norm systems revealed in the tales; (6) editorial filters and orientations; and (7) conclusions. (SR)

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Bedürfnisse zu verzichten und Lust auf später zu verschieben. Ein wirklicher Apfel jetzt gegen 100 mögliche Äpfel später! Erwachsen ist, wer zwischen Gebrauchswert und Tauschwert unterscheiden kann.

Nicht nur die Kinder, auch die Liebenden können das nicht. In einem spätmittelalterlichen Lied, *Der mynn regel*, wird das Wesen der Minne dem des Kindes so verglichen:

„Mynn ist an fürgedencken plind,
Alt und gesitt als ain kind,
Aus leichter schuld das hinder käm,
Das es ain rotten apffel näm
Für tusent marck goldes."[43]

Es gibt einen anderen Grimmschen Märchenhelden, der zwischen Gebrauchswert und Tauschwert nicht zu unterscheiden gelernt hat: Hans im Glück (KHM 83). Aber was im Falle des ‚Schlachtspiel'-Knäbleins liebenswert wirkt, erscheint bei Hans im Glück als lächerliche Torheit. Worin liegt der Unterschied? „Hans hatte sieben Jahre bei seinem Herrn gedient [...]" – so beginnt das Märchen. Wer seine Jahre gearbeitet, als Knecht gearbeitet hat, der hat die Lektion von Geld und Lust gelernt. Und auch den Sinn des alten Sprichworts: Gold öffnet alle Türen außer der zum Paradies.

[43] Das Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin. ed. C. Haltaus. Quedlinburg/Leipzig 1840, 243 a; ähnlich von der Hagen, F. H.: Minnesinger 3. Leipzig 1838, 170.

Cay Dollerup / Iven Reventlow /
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A Case Study of Editorial Filters in Folktales: A Discussion of the *Allerleirauh* Tales in Grimm*

In a previous article, we argued that discussions of folktales would have a sound basis if we posited an 'ideal tale' which briefly exists in a unique 'continuum'. In it, there is a narrative contract between a narrator and an audience at a specific place in space and time and in an oral dimension with a dynamic social interplay[1]. We also argued that once a tale is recorded, 'filters' begin to make their impact and that this must be taken into account.

In the present article, we shall discuss editorial 'filters', specifically the changes, 'orientations', which editors deliberately impose on a tale because they want to reach a specific audience. Our case in point will be the tale called *Allerleirauh* in the Grimm collection. It is a tale which is found in an incomplete version in the earliest Grimm papers, and this probably explains why it has not been studied in depth before: but as we hope to show, it is not only highly illustrative of editorial filters, but it may also contribute to a better understanding of the brothers Grimm and their methods of collecting tales. However, to avoid getting embroiled in discussions of minor details between all the Grimm texts, we focus on only three tales by this name, viz.

1. *Allerlei Rauch* (1810) preserved in the Ölenberger manuscripts;
2. *Allerlei-Rauh* (1812) from the first printed edition; and,
3. *Allerleirauh* (1857) from the final Standard Edition.

They will be treated in detail, and therefore the tales are given in English summaries with references to the full German text. All quotations are direct translations.

* The present article is a work from the Research Unit for Studies in Reader Response, Dept. of English, University of Copenhagen. It is a by-product from "An Interdisciplinary Turco-Danish Pilot Study of the Collective vs. the Individual Nature of Literary Response". The project received financial assistance from the UNESCO Participation Programme; the NATO Scientific Affairs Division (no. 004.82); the Danish Research Council for the Humanities; and the Departments of English and Psychology, University of Copenhagen. We wish to thank our subjects in the empirical study we refer to, as well as Bengt Holbek, Lisbeth Falster Jakobsen, Susanne Jorgensen, Christopher Tinson, Bente Gammeltoft, and Kirsten Brøste for valuable comments and assistance. Texts from German and French have been translated into English in the present article. Only the most crucial German passages are given in the original language.

[1] Dollerup, C./Holbek, B./Reventlow, I./Rosenberg Hansen, C.: The Ontological Status, the Formative Elements, the "Filters" and Existences of Folktales. In: Fabula 25 (1984) 241-265.

I. O. The genesis of Allerlei Rauch *(ca 1810)*

The first tale is one of the so-called Ölenberger manuscripts, i. e. original manuscripts which the brothers Grimm sent to Clemens Brentano at his request when he planned to 'publish' some tales in 1810[2]. Before sending them, the brothers Grimm copied these recordings, for on September 12, 1810 Jacob Grimm wrote:

> "He wants our fairytales and would render them freely in his own way and we cannot avoid it. We must definitely do it, but I think it is necessary to copy our collection, or otherwise it will be lost"[3].

In 1972 H. Rölleke proved that this 'tale' derives from a literary source: it is Jacob Grimm's summary of a tale, *Allerley-Rauch* from Carl Nehrlich's novel, *Schilly* (t. 1, Jena 1798, 144–154)[4]. This, then, means that the 1810 text was a far cry from an authentic, an 'ideal tale' – a fact which Jacob Grimm must have been well aware of.

I. 1. The full text of the Ölenberger Allerlei Rauch *(ca 1810)*

> Allerlei Rauch is chased away by her stepmother because her own daughter is slighted by a suitor [ein fremder Herr] who has given the stepdaughter a ring as a token of love. She runs away and comes to the duke's court where she polishes shoes; secretly and unknown she goes to the ball and eventually makes a soup for the duke and places the ring under the white bread. Thus she is discovered and marries the duke[5].

II. O. The genesis of Allerlei-Rauh

The 1812 'ideal tale' was recorded by Wilhelm Grimm on October 9, 1812. The narrator was the 19-year-old Dortchen Wild, the fifth of six children in the Wild household. Dortchen – who later married Wilhelm Grimm – supplied the brothers with several tales. Whatever its provenance, some special circumstances may have a bearing on the 'ideal tale' and the reading of it[6].

[2] Lefftz, J.: Märchen der Brüder Grimm. Urfassung nach der Originalhandschrift der Abtei Ölenberg im Elsaß. Heidelberg 1927.

[3] From Schoof, W.: Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Grimmschen Märchen. Hamburg 1959, 21 sq. Lefftz (above, not. 2) 21, 153 had previously assumed that the brothers had copied the recordings, but was unable to prove it.

[4] Rölleke, H.: Allerleirauh. Eine bisher unbekannte Fassung vor Grimm. In: Fabula 13 (1972) 153–159.

[5] Translated from id. (ed.): Die älteste Märchensammlung der Brüder Grimm. Synopse der handschriftlichen Urfassung von 1810 und der Erstdrucke von 1812. Cologny-Genève 1975, 52. Rölleke has found some inaccuracies in Lefftz' edition (above, not. 2).

[6] Wilhelm Grimm's son, Herman, later suggested that the tales told by the Wild children ultimately derived from their housekeeper, "die alte Marie". She was identified as Marie Müller by Schoof (above, not. 3) 59–61. But this assumption is wrong; Rölleke has convincingly proved that the "Marie" Wilhelm Grimm often refers to was Marie Hassenpflug, a close fried of Dortchen Wild, cf. Rölleke, H.: Die "stockhessischen" Märchen der "Alten Marie". Das Ende eines Mythos um die frühesten KHM-Aufzeichnungen der Brüder Grimm. In: Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift N. F. 25 (1975) 74–86.

Firstly, Dortchen told Wilhelm one more tale the same day: *Die drei Männlein*[7].

Secondly, the brothers' professed attitude was to change as little as possible in the tales recorded. Wilhelm's *Vorrede* to the first edition claimed: "We have taken pains to record these fairy tales as pure as possible [. . .]. No detail has been elaborated or embellished or changed, for we have refrained from expanding legends – in themselves so rich – with analogies or remnants of their own mould; they are very deep"[8].

Thirdly, there was at this very time one especially good reason for recording tales as faithfully as possible: it seemed as if Brentano was actually about to publish tales in his free and poetic rendering. At this news, Jacob repeats the strictness and authenticity of the brothers' own work in a letter of September 26, 1812: "no matter how much [Brentano] edits and embellishes, our simple and authentic collected narrative will surely always outdo his"[9].

But when we compare the Ölenberger manuscripts with the tales actually published in the first edition, we note that they are heavily edited and expanded upon[10]. Wilhelm obviously knew this, and it must have seemed a boon, suddenly to hear Dortchen Wild tell what seemed a very good version, perhaps something close to "the original, artistic Urform" of a tale of which he and Jacob had only the brief version quoted above: he must have greatly appreciated the superiority of this authentic version.

Fourthly, Wilhelm was working under time pressure: the first part of the manuscripts had been sent to the printers ten days before – September 29, 1812; by October 30, eleven sheets were set; by November 14, Jacob assumed the book was printed; and it finally came out on December 20[11]. The 1812 *Allerlei-Rauh* was thus, literally speaking, recorded and rushed to press. There was no time for editorial tampering, and little wish for it in view of the impending publication of Brentano's freely rendered tales.

[7] cf. e. g. Bolte, J./Polívka, G.: Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm 1–5. (Leipzig 1913–32) Reprint Hildesheim 1963, t. 1, 99; Rölleke, H. (ed.): Brüder Grimm: Kinder- und Hausmärchen. Ausgabe letzter Hand mit den Originalanmerkungen der Brüder Grimm 1–3. Stuttgart 1980, t. 3, 472, 573.

[8] Panzer, F. (ed.): Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm. Vollständige Ausgabe in der Urfassung. Wiesbaden s. a., 61.

[9] From Bolte/Polívka (above, not. 7) t. 4, 428 sq.

[10] The difference between the manuscripts and the first tales printed are charted carefully by Freitag, E.: Die Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm im ersten Stadium ihrer stilgeschichtlichen Entwicklung. Vergleich der Urform (Oelenberger Handschrift) mit dem Erstdruck (1. Band) von 1812. Frankfurt 1929. The whole development – but limited to special tales – is covered by e. g. Schmidt, K.: Die Entwicklung der Grimmschen Kinder- und Hausmärchen seit der Urhandschrift. Nebst einem kritischen Texte der in die Drucke übergegangenen Stücke. Halle 1932; and Ellis, I.: One Fairy Story too Many: The Brothers Grimm and their Tales. Chicago/London 1983. Innumerable others make briefer comments, for a bibliography cf. Rölleke (above, not. 7) t. 3, 581–589.

[11] The printing history is given by e. g. Bolte/Polívka (above, not. 7) t. 4, 426 sq.; Panzer (above, not. 8) 13 sq.; Schoof (above, not. 3) 35–38.

II. 1. A summary of Allerlei-Rauh *(1812)*

Once upon a time there was a king who was married to the most beautiful woman in the world, whose hair was pure gold. Their daughter was as beautiful as her mother. Before the king's wife died she asked her husband only to marry someone who was as beautiful as herself and who had hair as golden as her own. After a long period of mourning, the king's councillors asked him to marry again. No messenger could find a princess equal to the late queen. One day, however, the king looked at his daughter. Realising that she looked like her mother, he felt he must marry her and told her and the councillors so. The councillors vainly tried to dissuade him. The wise princess demanded that he should procure her three dresses: one as golden as the Sun; one as white as the Moon; and one as sparkling as the stars – in addition to a coat made of thousands of furs. The coat was then made of fur from animals whose hides were pulled off. The king brought her the things she had requested. She told him she would marry him the next day. However, during the night she collected the gifts from her fiancé – that is: a gold ring, a little gold spinning-wheel and a little golden reel –, put the dresses in a nutshell, darkened her face with soot, put on the fur, and walked out into a big forest where she fell asleep in a hollow tree.

The next day the king, her fiancé, was hunting in the forest. His dogs found the girl in the coat of fur. She was caught and taken home with him. She was called Allerlei-Rauh. She was told that she was well suited for kitchen work, and she had to sleep in a sty without light under the staircase. She did all sorts of unpleasant menial work; and very well, so the cook often gave her some of the leftovers. But before the king went to bed she had to go and take off his boots, which he then threw at her head.

Once there was a ball. Allerlei-Rauh wanted to see her fiancé and asked the cook for permission to go upstairs to look at the splendour. This being granted, she washed off the soot, took off the coat of fur, and put on the sun-dress. When she entered the ballroom everybody stepped aside for this princess. The king at once danced with her and thought that the unknown princess looked like his fiancée and wanted to question her. But she curtsied and left. She changed her clothes and returned to the kitchen where the cook asked her to make bread-soup, and to take care to drop no hair in it.

She made the bread-soup and finally put in the gold ring which the king had given her. When the ball was over the king had his bread-soup. He thought it had never tasted so good, and then saw his engagement ring at the bottom. He wondered how it had got there and called the cook, who got angry with Allerlei-Rauh and threatened to beat her if she had dropped a hair in the soup. The king, however, praised the soup and was told that Allerlei-Rauh had made it. When she was questioned about her identity and her knowledge of the ring, she answered that she was only good for having boots thrown at her and knew nothing of the ring. Then she ran off.

At the next ball Allerlei-Rauh washed and dressed in her moon-dress. This time the king was convinced she was his fiancée, as nobody else in the world had such golden hair. But she disappeared, and back in the kitchen she put the golden spinning-wheel in the bread-soup. The king liked the soup even more, and was surprised to find the spinning-wheel he had given his fiancée. First the cook and then Allerlei-Rauh were called, but the king got no better answer than the previous time.

Hoping that his fiancée would turn up, the king arranged for a third ball. This time she put on her star-dress. During the ball the king put a ring on Allerlei-Rauh's finger. The dance was prolonged, but in the end she disappeared and quickly changed her clothes for the coat of fur, but forgot to blacken one finger. In the kitchen she made the bread-soup and put the reel in it. When the king found it, he

called for Allerlei-Rauh. The king saw her white finger, clasped it and found his ring; he then tore off the coat of fur, and her golden hair appeared: she was his fiancée. The cook was rewarded. And they were married[12].

III. O. The 1857 Allerleirauh

Jacob Grimm initiated the tale collecting but gradually Wilhelm took over. In 1812 Wilhelm prepared most of the tales for publication and by 1814 he was almost solely responsible for the second volume of tales[13]. When the tales were re-issued in 1819 Wilhelm was in charge, and in his *Vorrede* he tells what has been done: thanks to new material and new information:

> "the first volume has been almost totally changed; what was incomplete has been made complete, much has been told in a more simple and pure way, and you will find that most pieces have a better form [. . .]. As for the way in which we have collected it, we have primarily emphasized authenticity and truth. We have added nothing of our own contrivance, and not embellished the old tale with any detail or feature, but passed on its content the way we received it".

Wilhelm adds that "in the main, we are responsible for the expression and the presentation of the individual tale"; that not all dialect words had been preserved; and that all phrases unsuited for children had been deleted. And he says that it requires delicacy "to differentiate between what is corrupt and what is more simple and pure and yet, in itself, more perfect"; in other words the tales printed might be made from recordings of several 'ideal tales'. Wilhelm Grimm continued his 'revisions' through subsequent editions[14]. This means that all editions, including the last one he gave out, in 1857, came ever closer to what has been termed Wilhelm's "ideal of a national narrative form suited for children"[15]; or his efforts "to make the stories conform to [the Grimms'] notion of what a folktale should ideally be like"[16]. As mentioned, the version printed in the last edition of tales supervised by Wilhelm Grimm is our last text.

III. 1. A summary of Allerleirauh *(1857)*

There was once a king who had a wife with golden hair. She was so beautiful that she had no equal. When she was about to die she called for the king and made him promise only to marry somebody who was as beautiful as herself and who had golden hair like hers. The king mourned, but in the end his councillors said that it was necessary for the king to re-marry so that they would have a new queen. Messengers searched in vain for an equal of the late queen. The king had a daughter who was as beautiful as her mother and who had similar, golden hair. When she had

[12] The full German text is given in e. g. Panzer (above, not. 8) 235–239; Rölleke (above, not. 5) 53–57.

[13] cf. e. g. Lefftz (above, not. 2) 27–29; Rölleke, H. (ed.): Brüder Grimm: Kinder- und Hausmärchen. Nach der zweiten vermehrten und verbesserten Auflage von 1819 [. . .]. t. 1–2. Köln 1982, here t. 2, 541–554.

[14] The standard work on the versions between 1812 and 1857 is the fairly uncritical study by Tonnelat, E.: Les contes des frères Grimm: Etude sur la composition et le style du recueil des Kinder- und Hausmärchen. Paris 1912.

[15] From Bolte/Polívka (above, not. 7) t. 4, 453.

[16] David, A. and M. E.: A Literary Approach to the Brothers Grimm. In: Journal of the Folklore Institute 1 (1964) 180–196, here 193.

grown up, the king looked at her and suddenly felt an overwhelming love for her. He told his councillors he wanted to marry his daughter. Alarmed the councillors said that a father must not marry his daughter; that no good would come from sin; and that the realm would be drawn along into ruin. The daughter was even more alarmed but hoped to make her father give up his designs by posing him an impossible task: She demanded three dresses, one as golden as the Sun, one as silvery as the Moon, and one as sparkling as the stars, as well as a coat made of thousands of pieces of fur. So maidens wove the dresses and hunters caught animals and removed small pieces of their hides. The king had the clothes taken to his daughter and said they were to marry the next day.

Then the princess decided to run away. During the night she picked up her valuable possessions: a gold ring, a gold spinning-wheel and a golden reel; she put the dresses in a nutshell, donned the coat of fur and blackened her face. She committed herself to God and went far away into a large forest where she felt safe and fell asleep. She slept long into the next day and it so happened that the king who owned the forest, was hunting in it. His dogs sniffed at the tree and his hunters were asked to investigate. When they seized her, she said she was an orphan and begged for mercy. Calling her Allerleirauh, they put her to all sorts of kitchen work and gave her a small sty to sleep in at the royal castle.

Once there was a ball at the castle. Allerleirauh asked the cook for permission to watch it from outside the doors. When permission was granted she went to her sty, took off the coat of fur, washed her hands and face, and put on the sun-dress. She entered the ballroom where the king approached her, put forth his hand and danced with her, thinking that he had never seen anybody as beautiful as her. At the end of the ball she curtsied and disappeared. She had not been seen by the guards outside the castle, as she had put on her disguise again and returned to the kitchen. Wishing to see the ball, the cook then asked her to make the soup for the king and to take care to drop no hair in it. She then made a bread-soup as best she could and put the gold ring in the tureen in which the soup was served. The king had never tasted such a good soup, and when he had finished it, he found the gold ring. As he had no idea how it had happened there, the king ordered the frightened cook to come up. The king asked him who had made the soup and he answered he had – but the king brushed aside his lie as the soup was superior to his. So then the cook had to admit that Allerleirauh had made it. When she was called in, she said that she was an orphan who was good for nothing but to have boots thrown at her, and that she knew nothing of the ring. So the king had to send her away.

After some time there was another ball and Allerleirauh once more asked for permission to watch it. This was granted, provided she made the king's bread soup. This time she put on the silvery moon-dress, danced with the king, left without a trace, and then made the bread-soup in which she put the spinning-wheel. When the king found it, he called first the cook and secondly Allerleirauh, but was informed that she could be used only for having boots thrown at her and that she knew nothing of the spinning-wheel. At the third ball, she was again permitted to watch; this time she put on her star-dress. She danced with the king who thought she was more beautiful than ever. He slipped a ring on her finger. The dance was prolonged, so on leaving for the kitchen she did not have time to do more than put the coat of fur over her dress and she omitted to blacken one finger. This time she put the reel in the soup. And when the king found it, he called Allerleirauh. He saw her white finger, took her hand, and as she tried to pull away, the coat of fur opened so that the star-dress could be seen. Then the king pulled off the coat of fur, and her hair spilled forth, and there she stood in all her beauty. And so they were married[17].

[17] Full German text in e. g. Grimm, Brüder J. und W.: Kinder- und Hausmärchen. Reprint München 1973, 371–376.

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IV. 0. The changes in the tales

Conscientious editors of the tales inform readers that the Grimms made stylistic and linguistic changes over the years, but usually stress that the contents remained unchanged, thus taking in earnest the brothers' claim that this is so. There is almost unanimous agreement that the tales were improved[18]. The wording may differ but the excuse has been that we cannot expect mathematical precision. Criticism has been fairly muted[19], until I. Ellis accused the brothers Grimm of deliberate fraud[20]. We consider both positions untenable and suggest that a reasonable assessment can be made from a discussion of the tales in terms of 'filters', especially the textual 'orientations' made by Wilhelm Grimm between 1812 and 1857. These orientations were determined mainly by the underlying ideology of the brothers, viz., that behind all tales that bear some similarity there was once one original artistic *Urform* which, by the 19th century, had sunk down to the common folk who preserved the tales[21]. In the present context we are interested only in the ideology's impact on the filters and orientations, not on whether it is sound or not.

And we use the *Allerleirauh*-tales – in the plural –, because they connect not with one, but with at least two 'ideal tales': The first 'ideal tale' was recorded in Carl Nehrlich's book from 1798. The recording's relationship to the 'ideal tale' is unknown. We know only that by 1810, the brothers Grimm had a summary of Nehrlich's tale. The second 'ideal tale', told to Wilhelm Grimm on October 9, 1812 by Dortchen Wild, can be approached by means of two recordings connected with it by means of different filters: the tales printed in 1812 and 1857, respectively.

We think it is impossible to distinguish between form and content, the way the brothers Grimm did in their programmatic statements: the two are indivisible. However, it is a convenient expedient for facilitating discussion; and in the following we therefore differentiate between them, especially because the 'linguistic changes' are so widely recognized in Grimm scholarship.

IV. 1. Changes at the linguistic level

As mentioned, then, these changes have been noted by virtually all critics[22]; accordingly we shall content ourselves with referring to only a few examples from the 1812 and 1857 texts: The title was changed slightly; obvious loan-words were replaced with less obvious ones; spelling was brought up to date; there is more direct speech in the newer version; and descriptions are expanded, often

[18] cf. e. g. Lefftz (above, not. 2) 7, 17; Freitag (above, not. 10) 96 sq.; Schoof (above, not. 3) 190; Rölleke (above, not. 13), e. g. t. 2, 566–578.

[19] Comments to the effect that all changes were not "unquestionable improvements" (Panzer [above, not. 8] 44) are not untypical.

[20] This is the point in Ellis' book (above, not. 10).

[21] cf. e. g. the Davids (above, not. 16) and Ellis (above, not. 10) for setting the Grimms into a contemporary context.

[22] cf. e. g. Tonnelat (above, not. 14) 61–199; Schmidt (above, not. 10) 9–17, 21–25; Rölleke (above, not. 13) t. 2, 566–578.

superfluously ("the castle" becomes "the royal castle"). 'Indecent' expressions are toned down: in 1812 the king's incestuous lust is described as "this ungodly enterprise" and "impetuous in his lust"; the counterparts, if any, by 1857 are "from his wicked designs", "impetuous love", and "wicked plans". The flow of the tale is changed: in 1812 there are long sections and run-on sentences, connected paratactically with "and", "but", and commas. In 1857, the sections are shorter with more full-stops and hypotactical constructions: by 1857 we are dealing with what Rölleke terms Wilhelm Grimm's "unmistakable poetic fairytale tone" ("unverwechselbaren märchenpoetischen Ton")[23].

V. 0. Content differences

Despite the frequent scholarly acceptance that the brothers Grimm changed only style, many critics happen, if only in passing, to note changes that go beyond linguistic ones, like those listed above[24]. There are major content differences in the tales under review. Despite their interdependence, they will be treated under separate headings for clarity and overview. And in order to avoid confusion we shall refer to the king who covets his daughter at the beginning of the tale as the 'king-father', and to the king who finds her in the forest as the 'king-suitor'.

V. 1. Differences in presentation

There is slightly more presentation of feeling by 1857: here the king-father's councillors are "alarmed" when informed about his incestuous plans; the girl is "full of fear" when found in the wood, and the king-suitor is "pleased" to see her at the second ball. In 1812, the king-suitor "hoped" to see her at the third ball, so the difference is small. The chain of events is clearer, and some descriptions are longer, by 1857: thus the daughter has grown up when her father falls in love with her and the dogs start sniffing "when they come up" to the tree in the forest, where

[23] ibid., 568.

[24] Apart from Ellis (above, not. 10) it is noteworthy that the lenient view dominates studies of the development of the tales. Tonnelat (above, not. 14) who compares the editions of tales between 1812 to 1857 thus claims that "The content of the tales has remained the same from the first to the last edition" (p. 201). Freitag (above, not. 10) who covers the differences between the Ölenberger manuscripts and the 1812 edition says that the brothers "never introduced any significant content change of their own" (90), but ascribes changes to the introduction of material from other authentic sources. Schmidt (above, not. 10) who covers the whole development is more reticent and mentions that a levelling took place, with a poetic principle and an intention ("Absicht") in changes in the tales (61). Freitag and Ellis are the two commentators who have found most of the types of changes that we are focussing on, and hence we frequently cite them. Their references are, however, to other tales where the same features have been noted, for the major studies do not discuss "Allerleirauh", and only Rölleke (above, not. 4) has discussed some points about it. Schoof (above, not. 3, 174 sq.) lists allusions to Grimm acquaintances in the tales. There is one in the 1857 tale: when the king-suitor sends his huntsmen to look in the hollow tree: "seht doch, was dort für ein Wild sich versteckt hat". This salute from Wilhelm Grimm to his wife, which is found as early as 1819 (reprint Rölleke [above, not. 13] t. 1, 249), confirms that Dortchen was the narrator of the 1812 tale.

the girl is hiding, respectively[25]. The openings are, however, strikingly different, as the elements are introduced in another order: by 1857 there is no mention of the daughter until after the king-father has tried to find other brides. This rearrangement permits of an orderly progression in the plot; on the other hand, this late introduction of the crucial elements, viz., the beautiful daughter and her golden hair, weakens their importance. At all events the flow of information is not the same in the tales of 1812 and 1857.

V. 2. 'Realism'

At the descriptive level Wilhelm has tried to be more realistic by 1857: in 1812 the old queen had "hair of pure gold" ("Haare von purem Gold"), but by 1857 this was devalued to "golden hair" ("goldenen Haaren")[26]. At the explanatory level, it is more realistic to have messengers sent "far and wide" to find a new bride (implicitly of any class) for the widowed king as in 1857, than to send emissaries to "all princesses" as in 1812; and to have "the most skilful maidens in his realm weave the three dresses" (1857) than to be told nothing about their provenance. Similarly, it is more reasonable to put things in the tureen in which soup is brought to the king, than just in the soup. And, of course, it is sensible that the 1857 princess should take off her coat of fur before she washes and then put on the sun-dress – instead of following the example of her 1812 predecessor who first washes, and then proceeds to take off her coat of fur on the same occasion[27]. In the eyes of the 19th century middle-class reader these changes made for more realism.

V. 3. Thematic differences

As *Allerlei-Rauch* from the Ölenberger manuscripts is a summary of a printed story whose relationship to an 'ideal tale' is obscure, many unknown filters must have been operative. On the other hand, the 'ideal tale' behind *Allerlei-Rauh* (1812) and *Allerleirauh* (1857) was the same, and all filters here have been at the editorial level. The titles point to the 'same' tale in all three cases, and the brothers Grimm refer to the 1810 tale in their *Anhang* to the 1812 tale[28].

However, at the thematic level, the three tales are not identical: In 1810 there is no father, only a stepmother who resents her stepdaughter's success in love.

[25] cf. e. g. Tonnelat (above, not. 14) 83–86, 131–145 for better causality and cohesion; Freitag (above, not. 10) 43–47; Schmidt (above, not. 10) 32–46 for expanded descriptions.

[26] Freitag (above, not. 10) 25 is apparently the only commentator who has found an example of this type: "am Fenster von Ebenholz" ("at the window of ivory") becomes "an einem Fenster, das hatte einen Rahmen von schwarzem Ebenholz" ("at a window which had a black ivory frame") in "Snow White".

[27] e. g. Tonnelat (above, not. 14) 131–145 discusses "Additions made to [...] make details in the narrative more realistic". And Freitag (above, not. 10) e. g. 64, 70 sq. also notes a strengthened "realism" ("Wirklichkeitscharakter") between 1810 and 1812. She also mentions that cleanliness is emphasized (p. 64). The latter is not the case with 'our' tale.

[28] cf. Panzer (above, not. 8) 320; Rölleke (above, not. 5) 52. The 1810 tale was also mentioned in the "Anmerkungen zu den einzelnen Märchen" by 1857 (reprint Rölleke [above, not. 7] t. 3, 116 [128]).

Her suitor is (presumably) the neighbouring duke. The girl runs away, becomes a shoe-polisher at the duke's court and finally reveals her identity by putting her ring, a love token, under a piece of bread brought with some soup: it is a love triangle, where a mother interferes on behalf of her daughter; the stepdaughter runs away to her lover and shows him she can do housework and cook, and marries him[29]. The similarities to the 1812 tale are few: (a) the girl gets one of the humblest positions imaginable; (b) appears disguised at a ball; and (c) makes some good soup.

In the 1812 tale a father wants to marry his daughter and overcomes the obstacles she puts in his way. She runs away and takes along her dresses and the gifts she has received from her bridegroom or fiancé ("Bräutigam"). She is found the next day in the wood by the king, her fiancé ("der König, ihr Bräutigam"). The only fiancé we have heard about is her father whom she promised to marry; so she must therefore be taken back to her father's court. After undergoing humiliations, she wants to see her fiancé/father. She appears at the balls in her splendour, makes a soup three times (i. e. shows that she is a good housewife) and puts traditional love tokens in it (a ring = marriage; spinning-wheel and reel = ability to make clothes). In the end she is married to her fiancé/father. As the tale stands, the theme is incest fulfilled: incest is first abhorred, but after humiliations, the girl bows to paternal authority[30]. The girl regains her place and status thanks to recognition: her looks and her hair remind the king-suitor of his fiancée. He recognizes the love tokens as his own gifts, and as they are instrumental for identifying the lowly Allerlei-Rauh as his bride, she herself made sure that she would be recognized by taking them along, when she ran away from him.

In the 1857 *Allerleirauh* the theme is incest averted: the girl escapes to another king's court. She appears to him in her splendour, and he therefore falls in love

[29] We agree with Rölleke (above, not. 4) that the Grimm sketch from Ölenberg implies that the suitor and the duke are identical, as the ring has been given as a token of love, and the girl's identity is discovered by it. In Nehrlich's tale, however, the stepdaughter is showered with gifts by an officer who promises to marry her in some years' time. She is found in the wood by "gentry"; however, there is no recognition on the duke's part when he gets the soup with her ring (which she got from the officer). Nehrlich's tale is therefore a fourth thematic variant which has been distorted by some filter in Jacob Grimm's summary sketch: one man is unwilling to marry a (humble) girl right away, but by giving her precious gifts, he [unwittingly?] enables her to marry somebody of a higher rank than himself.

[30] This point has not been made as bluntly before. Folklorists appear to be hampered by their knowledge of tales that bear some similarity to "Allerlei-Rauh", as they make it clear that the girl escapes from her father (cf. e. g. Bolte/Polívka [above, not. 7] t. 2, 45–56). Rölleke (above, not. 4) 153 insists that the features implying recognition show "the improving hand of the editor in the 'Urfassung' [1812]". In an empirical study – which prompted the present article – the 1812 tale was read by Danish 'gymnasiaster' (i. e. students on a level comparative to, e. g., gymnasiale Oberstufe/A-level/lycée/senior high school level). 22 of them commented on the tale. A total of 19 readers explicitly saw the theme as incest. It was called e. g. silly, immoral, inconsistent. And readers found that the girl was suffering from an enormous Electra-complex (see Dollerup, C./Reventlow, I./Rosenberg Hansen, C.: Report on the Selection Procedure Based on Readers' Responses to the Original 9 Tales in Denmark. ERIC [Educational Resources Information Center, Arlington, Va.] 1985 = E.D. 248 472, 37–53 and 60).

with her: she successfully revolts against paternal authority and marries a high-ranking person. The crucial difference is found in the sentence where we are told that the king-suitor is an outsider whom we have not heard about before: "Da trug es sich zu, daß der König, dem dieser Wald gehörte, darin jagte" ("It happened that the king who owned this wood was hunting in it"). Obviously the king-suitor does not know the girl beforehand; there is no gradual recognition on his part, and the precious things he finds in the soup arouse curiosity only. The girl is accepted by the king-suitor because of her beauty, and she is considered a princess because of her wonderful dresses: they bring about the happy ending[31].

V. 3. 1. Formative elements in the 1812 'ideal tale' and 'filters' in the recording

It is inconceivable that Wilhelm Grimm intentionally included a tale about incest in the tale collection, so we must focus on the formative elements leading to the 1812 recording to find an explanation.

One formative element in Dortchen Wild's 'ideal tale' in 1812 was that she had heard another 'ideal tale' somewhere. For reasons discussed above (II. O), the tale recorded and printed may be a tolerably accurate rendering of Dortchen's 'ideal tale'. And then we cannot exclude the possibility that her 'ideal tale' dealt with incest: perhaps the 'ideal tale' she had heard had done so, too; or perhaps she forgot that in the 'ideal tale' she thought she re-told, the princess had a fiancé before her father fell in love with her.

Another explanation presupposes that some crucial information was left out in a filter i n t h e r e c o r d i n g. And we need to have only one word or phrase drop out to have a grave distortion in the tale recorded in relation to the 'ideal tale', e. g. "eben so golden [* und sie war mit dem benachbarten König verlobt]" ("just as golden [* and she was engaged to the neighbouring king]"); or "die sie von ihrem [* wirklichen (or) bisherigen] Bräutigam hatte" ("[the gifts] which she had from her [* real (or) present] fiancé")[32].

Wilhelm may have overlooked a slip of this type because somehow the 1810 summary got mixed up with the 1812 recording. There are actually indications to this effect: (a) towards the end of the 1812 tale we meet with the unique spelling "Rauchmantel" (instead of "Rauhmantel"); (b) in the *Anhang* to this tale, the brothers also refer to "another recording", viz. the one in the Ölenberger manuscripts – with two differences: "Allerlei-Rauch" is hyphenated, and the suitor is now "a foreign prince". And (c) the *Anhang* to *Der König mit dem Löwen* opens with

[31] However, at least two non-folklorists have seen even the 1857 tale as an incest-story, cf. Rank, O.: Das Inzest-Motiv in Dichtung und Sage. Grundzüge einer Psychologie des dichterischen Schaffens. Leipzig/Wien 1926, 364 sq. (treatment with a footnote referring to H. Groß' Archiv f. Kriminalistik 3ℭ [1910]).

[32] Berendsohn, W. A.: Grundformen volkstümlicher Erzählerkunst in den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm. Hamburg 1921, 52 suggests that a first half should be missing. As we indicate by our 'reconstructions', we do not think this is necessarily so.

the comments: "We also find the idea of forgetting the first fiancé in *Prinz Schwan* [...], and presumably in *Allerlei-Rauh*"[33]. In brief, it seems as if the 1810 summary made Wilhelm disregard all other readings but one where the girl escapes from her father and goes to her fiancé.

If we accept a slip in the filter of recording, some things in the story make better sense: the girl takes the love tokens along to make sure she is recognized by her fiancé; after the flight she understandably feels "safe" ("sicher") in the forest; and, of course, she wants to see her fiancé "well" ("recht") at the ball. It explains why she is not recognized on account of her dresses, including the coat of fur; and why it is the love tokens, one of which is a "Treuring", an engagement ring, that lead to the revelation of her identity[34].

At all events, the 1812 recording's phrases, including the definite article used in reference to the hunting king-suitor, identify him with the king-father. Therefore the 1812 tale would appear indecent to some readers, and indecency was one of Wilhelm's explicit reasons for expurgating tales, phrases and words[35]. Jacob Grimm seems to have realized the problem as he added "sounds false" in the margin of the tale[36]. Small wonder that the central theme was changed in new editions: incest is one of our strongest taboos.

V. 4. Changes in the norm systems

Other 'ideological' changes were determined by Wilhelm's orientation towards an audience of German children.

V. 4. 1. The religious elements

The only religious feature in the 1812 tale is that the princess considers incest "this ungodly enterprise". In 1857 the councillors lecture the king-father on the blasphemous character of his plan and God's prohibition against incest, while the girl prays to God when she runs away[37].

[33] For the "Anhang" to "Allerlei-Rauh" cf. reprints by Panzer (above, not. 8) 320; Rölleke (above, not. 5) 59; for the "Anhang" to "Der König mit dem Löwen" cf. reprint by Panzer (above, not. 8) 321; see also Rölleke (above, not. 7) t. 3, 117 [129], num. 67.

[34] We thus disagree with Rölleke (above, not. 4) who considers these features the result of editing.

[35] cf. e. g. Tonnelat (above, not. 14) 11 sq. 17, 19; Freitag (above, not. 10) 82–89; Ellis (above, not. 10) 60–62, 72–76, 77 sq., 90 sq.

[36] cf. Rölleke (above, not. 5) 353.

[37] The introduction of didactic, religious, and moralizing features has often been exemplified; e. g. Panzer (above, not. 8) 48; Schmidt (above, not. 10) 60; Freitag (above, not. 10) 90; and Ellis (above, not. 10) 63 sq. Rölleke (above, not. 13) t. 2, 575, however, has noted the radical 'ideological' change in "Allerleirauh" with the introduction of the councillors' admonitions (which appear as early as 1819), and Rölleke comments that the emphases and bases for judgement in the tale is changed by it.

V. 4. 2. Cruelty and violence

Cruelty and violence are obviously toned down[38]. The coat of fur is made by catching and flaying animals in 1812; in 1857, only a piece of their skin is removed. By the king-suitor's orders, the girl is tied behind the cart when she is found in 1812; but after pleading with the huntsmen in 1857, she is put on the cart. In 1812 the king-suitor has Allerlei-Rauh take off his boots every night so that he can throw them at her. The king-suitor of 1857 has abandoned this habit, while the girl makes incomprehensible comments to him about having boots thrown at her. And the cook reacts differently when ordered to appear before the king to explain about the tasty "bread-soup": he scolds the maid in 1812; in 1857 he gets scared.

V. 4. 3. The characters

V. 4. 3. 1. The cook

As the girl works well in 1812, the cook frequently gives "her some of the leftovers to eat"; he permits her to leave so that she has time to appear incognito at the ball, and he only requests her to make the soup – which she then uses to reveal her identity. He readily tells that it was the girl who made the soup, and thus fully deserves his reward at the end[39]. Although the 1857 cook also permits the girl to watch at the ball, he does not treat her to anything special; he even tries to get credit for making the good soup, only to be revealed as a liar by the king. The decent and compassionate employer of 1812 has been replaced by a mean character in 1857.

V. 4. 3. 2. The girl

The 1812 princess asks her father to procure the dresses because she is wise. She sets the wedding for the next day in order to run away. She keeps quiet when she is found in the wood. She lies to the king-suitor about her father and her identity, and then runs off unceremoniously. She is good at kitchen work. She washes before undressing. And as she has doffed her star-dress, she must be naked under her coat of fur: she is truly the embodiment of the incestuous impulses she herself recognizes as her motive for getting into contact with the king, her father: ("now for once, I might see my beloved fiancé again"). Since she also chides the king-suitor about boot-throwing, we get the picture of a girl of independence, wilfulness and guile, who can stand rough handling. Her recognition is decided upon and brought about by herself.

[38] Speaking of the tale under review, Rölleke (above, not. 4) 153 cites the facts that the girl is not tied to the cart and has no boots thrown at her in 1857 as suppression of cruelty. For other tales, cf. e. g. Panzer (above, not. 8) 44; the Davids (above, not. 16) 194 sq. Ellis (above, not. 10) mentions that usually cruelty is toned down (cf. 77 sq.), but that deserved punishment of the wicked is increased and becomes more cruel (cf. 79–81).

[39] He threatens to give her no food and he gets angry with her; on these occasions, however, he may lose his job, if the girl has done something wrong.

The girl of 1857 is different. When she hears about her father's incestuous wishes, she is scared and hopes that he will abandon the idea: it is vaguely hinted that she wants to save him, not herself, which is why she demands the dresses: "it is impossible to procure them, and thus I shall put an end to my father's wicked plans". The king demands that the wedding take place the next day; so she is forced to leave. In so doing, she commits herself to God, who therefore determines the eventual outcome. When found in the wood she is scared and asks for protection because she is an orphan. We are not told why she goes to the ball. When she makes the soup she does "her best", so its superb quality must be due to luck rather than competence. Facing the king-suitor, she only leaves when she is sent away after having made a meaningless comment about boots. And when her identity is revealed in the end, the king-suitor knows that she is wearing the starry dress under the fur, and will therefore not be exposed to uncouth glances. In brief, she is decent, prompted by unselfishness and guided by religion. She does little on her own and asks for protection. Usually she does as directed, and there is little initiative on her part.

V. 4. 3. 3. The king-father

The king-father of 1812 recognizes that his late wife's wish and his councillors' admonition have placed him in a quandary which can be solved only by marrying his daughter. The sudden love turns out to be passionate lust which the girl terms "godless". The king-father of 1857 sees his daughter and her similarity to her mother, and therefore falls in love with her. The fact that no one else can fulfill the requirements is his rationalization when he tells the councillors, who openly warn him about this act against the law of God – but he perseveres. The emphasis is subtly different: the 1812 king is carried away by despair and unbridled passion. In 1857 the royal feelings are more coolly immoral and override even references to the Bible: this king is truly unscrupulous, for there are no extenuating circumstances.

V. 4. 3. 4. The king-suitor

The king-suitor of 1812 feels that the unknown beauty at the ball is actually his fiancée, becomes more and more certain, and clinches the discovery by means of his own engagement ring. The king-suitor of 1857 falls in love with an unknown girl in beautiful dresses, and he personally uncovers the connection between the bread-soup and the kitchen-maid. However, these important differences must be ascribed to the change in motivation once the incest theme is suppressed.

V. 4. 4. The authority, status, and actions of kings

The 1812 king-father has some authority, as he can have the dresses made, and yet no more than that his councillors can "admonish" him to get married. The 1812 king-suitor can issue orders to his hunters, have his guards questioned, and summon the cook and the maid. But he is held in little awe: the cook dares take

time out to scold the girl when summoned instead of dashing off to his royal master. And the maid gets away with criticism of his unregal behaviour and then runs away without permission.

In the 1857 tale, the king-father's authority permits him to override the councillor's objections to his marriage plans. Primarily, however, he is the ruler and a model for his country: he must remarry because the councillors are concerned about the good of the country: "the king must marry again so that we get a queen". His incestuous plans make them appeal to his importance, and to the fact that the realm "will be drawn along into ruin". He is in charge, and it is he who sets the day of the wedding. And the 1857 king-suitor is held in awe: the cook's first reaction when summoned is to get scared; and the maid does not leave until the king dismisses her. Both kings of 1857 issue orders and commands throughout the tale. Conversely, the 1812 kings command only in traditional hierarchies: during hunts and in households.

The behaviour of the 1812 kings also stands out on other occasions: the king-father personally brings the wonderful dresses to the princess, which is decidedly unregal. The king-suitor qualifies as a country clod: he throws boots at the maid at night; when she enters the ballroom, he is crudely direct, as at a country dance: "at once the king put out his hand to dance"; the moment he sees his ring on her finger, he tears off her coat of fur; his food habits are modest – he is a great connoisseur of "bread-soup", and it is emphasized that it is his favourite dish after a ball.

In 1857 the king-father has the coat of fur brought (by others) to his daughter and then displays it himself. The king-suitor does not throw his boots around, and at the ball he behaves with some decorum: "the king approached her, gave her his hand, and danced with her". He can immediately see through the cook's lie, and when he eventually tears off the girl's coat of fur, he has already seen the star-dress underneath it, so that he is sure that she is not naked. He, too, is a connoisseur of "bread-soup", although his liking for it is less pronounced: "he liked it as much as last time" (vs. 1812: "The king ate the soup and it seemed even better to him.")

There are thus differences in the view of royalty in 1812 and 1857. The latter is unquestionably more realistic in so far as the king gets his soup from a tureen, and has things taken to people by servants. But there is more to it: the 1812 kings are no better than the heads – or the eldest sons – of many country households. The kings of 1857 are exalted personages whose prime duty is to serve their country. A wicked king is a menace to his people. And the model king is just, respected, held in awe, and a gentleman born and bred. Within the limitations imposed by the plot, the norm system dominating monarchy has been changed in the editorial filter and has become bourgeois.

V. 4. 5. Additional, minor points about the social system in the 1812 tale

There are other indications that the social system of the 1812 tale seems to reflect a more humble way of life than that of Wilhelm Grimm. This implies that

the narrator of the 'ideal tale' which formed part of Dortchen Wild's 'ideal tale' was from the so-called 'lower classes'. An indication of this is the description of the making of the coat of fur: in 1812 the animals are flayed as anyone from the country would know – whereas the 1857 tale has the unrealistic view that one can catch animals and then remove a piece of their hides. Another indication concerns living and transportation at the king-suitor's castle: servants would not live under some stairs in a dark place in a castle – but they might do so in farms or in some households in towns. And whereas the 1857 tale is vague about how the unknown princess might have left the castle after the ball, the 1812 story's guardsmen had seen no one "go out of the house" ("gehen") – surely a modest mode of conveyance.

The third set of indications ties in with the way the girl reveals her identity. First, a reel and a spinning-wheel would be odd love tokens for a royal couple. But in the country they would symbolize the ability to make clothes and would connect with the custom of engaged couples to exchange homemade gifts. Secondly, they are found in the food: at farms – where food would be served in a bowl – the 'king' would automatically find the love tokens. But although a real king would indubitably receive his soup in a tureen as he does in the 1857 tale, he would be unlikely to serve it himself, let alone get to the bottom of it. The fourth indication is the familiarity with all sorts of menial tasks in households, and with maltreatment and hunger: Dortchen Wild might have known about kitchen work. But she is unlikely to have thought up the task of taking off the king's boots at bedtime – and have them thrown at one's head. She would probably not consider leftovers a reward, nor bread-soup, a humble meal of old bread, as a major treat by which you could make a great point of delicacy and quality.

V. 5. The 1812 'ideal tale' and the editorial filters and orientations

All told, the narrator of the 'ideal tale' behind Dortchen Wild's 'ideal tale' appears to have been from the countryside, of a lowly status, intimately familiar with menial kitchen work, with hunger, with maltreatment by superiors and lovers. It seems as if Dortchen Wild's 'ideal tale' was fairly close to this original. However, the traces of that narrator's personality were suppressed or weakened in Wilhelm Grimm's editorial filters:

Solidarity between underlings disappears. By 1857 they are no longer honest about one another's deserts, nor do they help one another (by giving or making food); and there is no gratitude for assistance formerly yielded (as when the cook is rewarded in the end). Hints of doubtful hygiene are done away with (such as washing face and hands only, and before undressing); and so are modest tableware and modest modes of conveyance. Brutality towards animals and men is toned down. There is a heavy infusion of religious elements. The girl's behaviour is guided by a norm system rewarding piety, unselfishness, inactivity, prettiness, obedience, and dependence. Kings become focal points in their countries, whose fate depends on their uprightness and respectability.

And the structure and theme of the tales are different. In the tale of 1812 there is incest, in 1857 incest averted. The gradual recognition of the princess in 1812, brought about by herself by means of love tokens, her wisdom, her looks, and her competence in the kitchen, has disappeared in favour of a plot where the action is guided by God and the happy ending is brought about by chance.

VI. 0. Concluding remarks

We have argued that discussions of folktales would be more meaningful if we accepted that they existed briefly as 'ideal tales' in a narrative contract, and that discussions of recorded tales should take into account later filters and orientations. We chose a Grimm tale to illustrate how these filters can be discussed, because this tale seemed particularly promising, once our attention had been called to it. However, we have also shown that there were different filters and orientations at work in the Grimm tales all the time from 1810 (1807) to 1857.

In the first few years there is some fidelity towards the narrator. And it is at a moment when this is of prime importance that Wilhelm Grimm records the 'ideal tale' of *Allerlei-Rauh* from Dortchen Wild, which must have seemed a near-perfect version of 'the same tale' which he knew only as a summary. Later, Wilhelm's orientation towards the new middle-class reading public, especially children, influenced his views of the recording from 1812. And the new changes went way beyond what could be termed 'stylistic changes': the theme, the plot, and the norm system changed so much that the two tales are not 'the same'.

This is in keeping with the introduction of middle-class norm systems in other tales, which as Ellis notes, were purged of "content [the brothers Grimm] found objectionable: successful crime, sex, suicide, illegitimate birth, wanton violence between children and family members"[40]. The claim that the brothers Grimm gave back to the German nation its own treasured and almost forgotten tales rests on sand: Wilhelm Grimm adapted some folk-material to middle-class norms at a time when the middle classes were rising and assuming positions of power all over Europe in spiritual and social life. L. Dégh is right in assuming that the collection was popular because it reinforced middle-class norms[41].

It is, however, doubtful that "the Grimms deliberately deceived their public by concealing or actually misstating the facts [that their immediate informants were literate middle-class friends], in order to give an impression of ancient German folk origin for their material which they knew was utterly false"[42]: for in the Grimm ideology of *Naturpoesie* individual narrators are arbitrary, and the only repository of a tale is the whole nation. Wilhelm Grimm sought, and thought he approached original, artistic, and uncorrupted *Urforms* over the years. Ellis is hardly justified in doubting the brothers' integrity[43]: to Wilhelm Grimm there

[40] Ellis (above, not. 10) 91.
[41] Dégh, L.: Grimm's Household Tales and Its Place in the Household: The Social Relevance of a Controversial Classic. In: Western Folklore 38 (1979) 83–103.
[42] Ellis (above, not. 10) 35 sq.
[43] ibid., 17–24.

was no discrepancy between the forewords of 1812 and 1819; for both programmatic statements are compatible with the *Naturpoesie* ideology – however unsound it may appear to us.

We know that virtually all the brothers' informants were middle-class people, but in many tales – including this one – there is a layer of non-middle-class norms. And these norms could not have originated in a bourgeouis milieu. Wilhelm Grimm did his best to suppress this layer; yet it is proof that somewhere behind many Grimm tales, there must have been 'ideal tales' told in an authentic folk tradition. True, some tales derive from written sources, e. g. Charles Perrault. And perhaps the Grimms' friends "acted as retellers of stories remembered from childhood"[44] – but, if so, we should expect them to exhaust their (inactive?) repertoires fairly soon, and they did not.

Therefore, Dortchen Wild and her *Allerlei-Rauh* gain significance: she supplied the brothers with more than a dozen tales, and in so far as they are dated, they came in spurts[45]. As her family went around on trips[46], we suggest that on such trips she heard 'ideal tales' which she passed on to Wilhelm Grimm. This would explain the layer of lower-class norms in the present tale. It also leads to another hypothesis: perhaps Wilhelm Grimm collected some tales by having friends tell him 'ideal tales' they had heard in other districts. Such tales, of course, would be new 'ideal tales' when they were passed on to Wilhelm. But it would tally with Wilhelm's claim that the tales 'derived' from identified localities, although they were told to him by middle-class friends in Kassel. And it would also explain the unusually high number of narrators ("active bearers") among his acquaintances[47].

Whatever view we take of the Grimm collection, it is obvious that Ellis is right in claiming that is does not constitute authentic folk material, at least not directly. It is not correct to say that the brothers Grimm founded comparative folklore by their methods of collecting material; but they did so in two other ways: firstly, by means of their programmatic statements where they insisted that their material was authentic, since this was taken in earnest by others who looked at the spiritual beacon only, at the idea of accuracy, and not the material itself. And, secondly, because of their scholarly comments on the tales they printed.

However, the most important literary aspect about the tales of the brothers Grimm falls beyond the scope of the present article. It is true that the orientations they wrought on the tales are not acceptable when the tales are viewed as folkloristic material. But they were prompted by romantic and nationalist feel-

[44] Dégh (above, not. 41) 82.

[45] According to Rölleke (above, not. 7) t. 3, 573 we get the following list: March 10, 1811; September 29, 1811; October 1 and 13, 1811; January 19, 1812: 3 tales; October 9, 1812: 2 tales; January 5, 7, 10 and 15, 1813.

[46] Schoof (above, not. 3) 73.

[47] cf. also Rölleke (above, not. 7) t. 3, 600 sq. who points out that the Hassenpflugs apparently told tales they had heard both before and after they moved to Kassel (in 1798).

ings which were legitimate in themselves. And the brothers Grimm were so successful in this effort that they created a collection of stories which are now part of the international cultural heritage.